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than his own. There does not appear to be any belief nowadays that an Agbat, on dying, turns into a crocodile, but it was stated that when an old Agbat man dies his friends sing: "The water is all astir—the crocodile is entering." An Agbat woman does not cease to respect the crocodile on her marriage, and it was said that the son of an Agbat woman, though he takes his exogamic unit from his father, shows respect to his mother's totem as well as to his father's. The Agbat also, apparently, respect the leopard. If an Agbat kills a leopard he is required by custom to perform certain rites designed to protect him from the ghost of the dead animal. He sends a friend or relative to a neighbouring tribe (Kagoro) for medicine, some of which he drinks and some of which he smears on his body. He will not eat leopard's flesh or wear a leopard's skin. The reason now assigned for this respect is that once in bygone days an Agbat ate leopard's flesh and his body became covered with boils. The conception of non-respect for a totem causing boils is common and is also found in other parts of the world (e.g. among the Melanesians of New Guinea). The Agbat do not call themselves "Leopards", but they state that in battle they were always put in the van, and as they rushed forward they shouted "We are leopards; we cannot run away".

The Shokwa clan respect the *tatong*, one of the lizard family. The association of the *tatong* with the Shokwa clan was begun, it is said, in the following way. Shokwa, the founder of the clan, was sitting alone in his house lighting a fire. A *tatong*, hearing the noise, came and spoke to Shokwa, asking who he was and where were his relatives. Shokwa replied that he had no relatives, and the *tatong* then assured him that God would increase his family. This prophecy came true, and Shokwa ordered all his children to respect the *tatong* for all time. And so no man of Shokwa may injure a *tatong*, and if he finds one he takes it to the priestly head of the Kuzat family who houses it in a granary, feeds it with beniseed and finally releases it with blessings. For the Shokwa regard the *tatong* as a relative, and if they find the body of a dead *tatong* will cover it with earth reverently, holding a funeral feast as they would for one of their old men. Should a Shokwa man kill a *tatong* accidentally rain would fall, even in the middle of the dry season. The most binding oath a Shokwa can

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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

613 583 *Sub-clans and Kindreds.*—The principal clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches. Indeed, if a man is assailed by small-pox a bundle of grass is brought to him and he is asked to count out the number of those whom he has devoured. A full confession may save his life, but if he dies his guilt is proved, and his body is taken out of the hut by a hole made in the wall, his eyes are pierced (so that his disembodied spirit may never again be able to see anyone on whom he may fix his spells), and his corpse is buried without ceremony and without the customary lamentations. Most towns have their own leech (*obo*). The patient pays the cost of the medicine, and if he recovers bestows a gift on the leech. Cupping is practised in cases of fever; also inoculation for small-pox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack and transfused into the blood of a healthy man, by means of a scratch made with a razor. For toothache wild olive oil is placed in the hollow of the decayed tooth. A red hot arrow is then inserted, and the tooth is split into pieces, which are extracted one by one. The Katab do not follow the Hausa custom of slitting the gums of a child. But the uvula is snipped off on naming day with the object of preventing attacks of quinsy or tonsilitis.

Death.—On the occurrence of death the women of the household give way to tears and lamentation, and men may also be seen weeping. All relatives are immediately informed, and messengers are dispatched to summon distant relatives such as the married sister of the deceased. The death of a chief (by chief is meant civil and not religious chief) is, however, kept secret for a period of seven days, none but the closest senior relatives, the grave-diggers, and the priests of Elenowum and Obwai being informed. Interment follows as soon as possible—in the evening if the deceased had died in the morning, in the morning if he had died during the previous evening. But a chief is always buried at night, for no one but those whose duty it is to bury him may look on his corpse. The body, covered with a cloth jumper, is wrapped in a mat of plaited palm fronds. (But a chief is buried in a gown.) Burial is, for commoners and chief, in the compound, and a fresh grave is used for each body. Old men and chiefs are buried underneath the entrance hut of the compound. Those who die of smallpox are denied burial rites, the corpse being wrapped in a mat and deposited in the bush.

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587 Secondary affinal marriage occurs: a man may inherit widows of his grandfather, father and brother, but only when these are young women and do not have adult lineal descendants with whom they can live.[26a]

595 Seniority is important among women of the compound, as among men, but how seniority is determined, in view of the complexities arising through the institution of secondary marriage, is not clear.[27] A husband spends two nights with each of his wives in turn, in his own hut, if he has one. Men and women eat in separate groups, the women always in or before the hut of the chief wife. If there is a tendency towards friction between successive generations, relations between alternate generations are characterized by a degree of cordiality. According to Meek, relations between and among siblings reflect a similar convention: on the whole, alternate children are closer and take greater pleasure in one another's company than successive children.

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Death and Burial

753 Meek's statement that " illnesses and premature deaths are ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches," is not apparently meant to be taken literally.[28] Without exception treatments for illness described by Meek appear to have no element of magic about them: there is even " inoculation for smallpox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack, and transfused into the blood of a healthy man by means of a scratch made with a razor," which, though it differs from current European medical procedure, is not alleged to be a witch-finding ordeal.

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764 Interment generally follows death within 12 to 18 hours, though the burial of a civil chief, whose death is kept secret for seven days, may be delayed for 24 hours if necessary to comply with the rule that a chief must be buried under cover of night. The body of a commoner is clothed in the short Hausa-Fulani gown (*tobe*), that of a chief in a robe (*riga*), and finally wrapped in an ordinary mat of palm-fibre. Burial is generally in the home-compound; old men and chiefs are buried beneath the entrance-hut. The grave is described as decanter-shaped, about 6 ft. deep. If the deceased has been a man of importance, a stone is set up on the grave to mark the site for his descendants who may wish to make offerings to their dead ancestor (see *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below).

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When burial—presided over by the *magajin elenowum*—is complete, horns are sounded (if the deceased had reached a respectable age), beer is drunk, and a feast may follow. In the case of a chief, his immediate relatives are " officially " informed of his death—and burial—a week later, but public announcement is not made for perhaps a month, when a general feast is held. According to Meek, however, " the real funeral feast " will not be held until the dry season (presumably delayed only in case of death in the rains): this lasts for two days, during which the senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, then come forth and join in a general dance.

765 Regarding mourning, Meek says that a widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one or two months. At the end of this period she is shaved and washed in the river by female relatives. Though men themselves do not make a display of mourning, a woman mourns in

[26a] A woman may choose, apparently, whether she will be inherited by her husband's son or grandson.

[27] The wives of any man rank according to the length of time they have been his wives; but it is not stated whether a wife loses seniority by absence (as the secondary wife of another man), whether a secondary wife ever out-ranks a primary wife, or how the wives of males of varying rank in the compound are ranked (whether, for example, the senior wife of the senior male, or compound head, is inevitably the senior woman of the compound, even though she may be very junior from the point of view of actual residence). It is made clear only that the age of the women does not enter into calculation of their rank.

[28] Meek's qualification of this statement appears in an earlier section of his account of Katab, where he notes that the Katab " does not surround himself with amulets and talismans " nor live in constant dread of evil spirits.

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and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

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[761] has eaten his soul.[130] Victims of witchcraft are buried in a variety of ways, determined by age, sex, marital status, kinship status, etc. A person dying of an 766 apparent disease is adjudged a witch and buried away from the compound, perhaps even in the bush, with no ceremony. A person dying from some accident, for example, one struck by lightning, is buried within the compound, as are the first category of dead described above, but without the ordinary rituals: exactly how Kaje explain this type of death is not clear from Reynolds' account.

764 The most elaborate burial ceremonies are those for the old, and little differentiation is made as to the sex of the deceased so long as he or she is survived by a numerous progeny. First, the *gado kapiyi* examines the body to determine the cause of death; then the *gado abwai* attends the body and the voice of the *abwai* is heard, whereupon the *gado abwai* " announces to the women that the old man has now become a *dodo*."[131] A vertical shaft is dug 3 or 4 ft. deep, and from this in both directions a tunnel to receive the body, head to the north, face to the west. The grave is sealed with a stone.

A feast is held directly by men of the lineage. Further celebrations with feasting and dancing are held before the next sowing, for all the dead of the lineage since the last sowing. The major lineage appears to be the unit for these celebrations.

At the end of the general celebrations, the patrilineal descendants of the deceased gather in his compound for five successive days for ritual feasting. After 765 this the wives and mother of the dead man go into mourning for one month, when they cover themselves with red earth and abstain from bathing and shaving themselves. They will not let rain touch their bodies, nor will they go to the stream or cross it, even by a bridge. They eat rich food, but after dark, and take no part in the preparation of food. They do not speak to any male who does not belong to the compound and do not have sexual relations, for which reason they all sleep in one hut. They do not wear the *ndyig* (*?oyam*), but a girdle made of raphia, and always carry a hand-broom. At the end of a month the women are shaved(?), and for this occasion beer is made with corn brought by the married daughters of the classificatory daughters of the dead man at the time of the funeral ceremonies. The major lineage collects and drinks the beer and feasts ritually on beans.

766 The death of a civil head is kept secret for a month, when his successor is publicly announced. In the case of *gado kapiyi* and *atiyinhwap* bush hunting is a feature on the day of burial, and the deceased is interred in his skin loin-covering rather than in cloth garments. In the case of the *gado abwai*, the distinctive feature occurs only two or three years after burial, when an elaborate memorial service 769 (*aswa*, or, popularly, *tswandik*) is held. The rituals appear to serve as the con- 794 firmation of formal investiture of the deceased *gado's* successor, for in fixing the date of the celebration, cult affairs from the death of the late *gado* are reviewed, and the state of the public morals with which the cult concerns itself. When the date has been set, fibre neck-cords (*tswandik*) prepared by the Madauchi are distributed among the wives of the community, after grain in the fields begins to form heads. The actual ceremonies do not take place, then, until the height of the dry season,

[754] [130] The distinction observed here between a witch and a sorcerer is based on practice: the sorcerer uses " medicines " and rites; the witch may be entirely ignorant of his own supposed activities, engaging in witchcraft while asleep, in a trance, etc. Kaje appear to feel no particular animus towards witches in general, nor even towards suspected specific witches while they are alive; but note supernatural sanction against witchcraft, and the treatment of supposed witches after death.

[775] [131] It cannot be recalled too often that the concept of the " dodo " needs more careful investigation throughout this area than it has yet had. Two definitions are current among Europeans: more usually the " dodo " is regarded simply as " a spirit "; a more subtle view, perhaps, holds that it represents the collective embodiment of the community's dead. The latter definition is convincing in certain contexts, but the existence of a number of " dodone " in a single group suggests that the former may also have a degree of validity, and that the two definitions should be mediated, as it were, or new and more precise terms from the vernacular adopted.